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President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

Agenda item 166 *(continued)*

Measures to eliminate international terrorism

Report of the Secretary-General (A/56/160 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Mr. Musambachime (Zambia): Zambia condemns, in the strongest terms, the barbaric and terrorist acts committed against the United States of America on 11 September 2001. I wish to take this opportunity to convey my Government's deepest sympathies and sincere condolences to the United States Government, its people and the families affected by these senseless and dastardly acts.

The President of Zambia, Frederick Chiluba, has already issued two statements condemning these heinous and unjustified attacks. In the first statement, made in his capacity as President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Chiluba stated,

> "We unreservedly condemn these most deplorable, heinous and wanton attacks on defenceless people, which are an affront to all norms of civilized human behaviour and a direct threat to global peace and security. The perpetrators of these dastardly acts should be sought and swiftly brought to book to answer for their crimes".

In the second statement, issued in his capacity as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Chiluba said,

> "We wish to state unreservedly that terrorist acts should have no place in today's civilized world and should, therefore, be strongly condemned by the entire international community".

Today, in this Assembly and from this podium, I reiterate the President's condemnation of all acts, methods and practices of terrorism by whomever, whenever and wherever they are perpetrated. The consequences of terrorism are indeed, the antithesis of social and economic development and, therefore, should be fought by all democratic and peace-loving nations.

I wish to assure the American Government of the full and unconditional support and cooperation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia in all efforts to pursue the perpetrators of these cowardly acts and to ensure that they are brought to justice.

By definition, terrorism means violent acts intended to create a state of fear and insecurity in the general public or a group of persons. My delegation has noted with great admiration the response of the American people to these acts of terror. The American people have not been intimidated. Instead, they have become more united and determined in their resolve to recover from this tragedy.

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My delegation commends the gallant efforts of the Mayor of New York, our host city, Mr. Rudolph Guiliani, who addressed us on Monday, 1 October, and of Governor George Pataki, in coordinating the rescue work. Their strong leadership enabled the City to quickly organize and coordinate the resources required for rescue and recovery operations.

We pay tribute to the brave and courageous members of the Fire Department of New York, the New York Police Department, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and others who made the ultimate sacrifice while rescuing those trapped in the wreckage. We also commend the many volunteers who have saved so many lives and continue to give their time to the rescue and recovery efforts.

President George W. Bush, the American Government, the Congress and the entire nation deserve our praise for the tremendous support they have given to our host city. The heavy death toll and the level of destruction of property caused by the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, whose images we vividly saw on television with horror, disbelief and indignation, have demonstrated to us the seriousness of the threat of terrorism. They have also underlined the urgency with which the international community must respond to this problem, whose magnitude threatens international peace and security.

Indeed, as the Secretary-General said last week, when he presented his report on the work of the Organization, the attack was

> "a blow, not against one city or one country, but against all of us ... an attack ... on our shared values. It struck at everything this Organization stands for: peace, freedom, tolerance, human rights and the very idea of a united human family." (*A/56/PV.7*)

The large number of fatalities, who included nationals from 80 countries, and the destruction of important infrastructure, as well as the disruption of the normal life of New Yorkers, the normal programme of the United Nations, international travel and world financial markets all go to show that terrorism is a global problem, which requires an urgent global response.

We should not forget that this tragedy comes after terrorist attacks on the embassies of the United States in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and on the *USS Cole* in Yemen. The diversity of these attacks in various parts of the world clearly indicates that terrorism should be of concern to all nations.

My delegation welcomes and supports the measures, including the diplomatic efforts, being undertaken by the United States Government to muster an international coalition in the wake of the attacks in New York and Washington D.C. The perpetrators of these barbaric and heinous attacks deserve our strongest condemnation.

The Zambian Government joins other Governments that have called for the immediate conclusion and implementation of a comprehensive international convention against terrorism. My Government is aware that much work has been done both by the United Nations and by regional organizations in this regard. However, there is a need to coordinate all this work in order to establish a formidable and effective force against terrorism.

It is important that the United Nations play a crucial and leading role in the global response to terrorism. The United Nations is the natural forum for building the necessary universal coalition to give international legitimacy to the struggle against terrorism.

In view of its complicated nature, the fight against terrorism will not be easy. It will be difficult and protracted. There is, therefore, an urgent need for the international community to adopt measures that are comprehensive, effective and sustainable, which will not only deal with the current violent acts of terror, but will also involve long-term measures to prevent their recurrence. Hence the need for the United Nations to play a leading role.

My delegation would, therefore, like to express its fullest support for Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), adopted on 12 September and 28 September respectively, and General Assembly resolution 56/1, adopted on 12 September, which call for urgent action to enhance international cooperation to prevent and eradicate acts of terrorism. It is important for the international community to rally behind these resolutions and to promote unity of purpose in order to facilitate, strengthen and enforce action against terrorism.

My delegation is convinced that with the full implementation of the measures contained in these

resolutions, especially those in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), we will win this war. This is a war the international community cannot afford to lose. It is now up to us, as individual Members of the United Nations, to do our part and help win the war.

For our part, my Government has undertaken to cooperate at the regional and international levels to prohibit and to prosecute all criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or individuals targeted for whatever reasons, in any circumstance, as unjustifiable, whatever considerations or factors may be invoked to justify them.

Mr. Nguyen Thanh Chau (Viet Nam): The tragedies of 11 September will go down in contemporary history as one of the most heinous crimes committed against innocent people. Some 6,000 men and women perished in the ruins of the World Trade Center, in Virginia and in the wreckage in Pennsylvania, while thousands of others are suffering in hospitals. Who can hold back the tears, looking at those photos along the sidewalks of Lexington Avenue, in Union Square, in New Jersey and elsewhere? They are proof of the suffering, the agony, the mourning of the living over the tragic death of their husbands, wives, parents, children, siblings and friends.

Death in war is as painful as death in peace, I can assure the Assembly. Right after these horrendous killings by the insane terrorists, President Tran Duc Luong and Foreign Minister Nguyen Dy Nien of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in their messages of condolence addressed to President George Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell, extended the deepest sympathy and condolences of the people and Government of Viet Nam to the people and Government of the United States of America and voiced their indignation at and strong condemnation of the barbarous acts, which involved the heavy loss of innocent lives. The spokesperson of the Foreign Ministry of Viet Nam went on to say that the perpetrators should be brought to justice and severely punished.

The demand to vent the anger that has built up inside is understandable. In the same vein, it is necessary to bring the planners, organizers and perpetrators of these senseless acts of terrorism to justice, but it should be done in such a way that it does not turn into acts of vengeance, which can easily endanger other innocent people. Otherwise we could get into a vicious circle in which violence may lead to numerous other rounds of violence, with no finality in sight.

As terrorism is going global, counter-terrorism should go global as well. Solidarity and unity among people around the world and their participation in a common endeavour are badly needed to meet the goal of rooting out terrorists from our daily life. To this end, a comprehensive strategy should be worked out to deal with the political, diplomatic and development issues of genuine concern. The United Nations, as a universal Organization where every nation, big or small, acts on an equal footing, should play a key role in the process, through discharging its functions enshrined in the Charter, in accordance with international laws and relevant international conventions.

While condemning in the strongest terms acts of terrorism of the magnitude of those of 11 September, we should be equally resolute in our determination to pay attention to other forms of terrorism, such as kidnapping foreign citizens, bombarding foreign embassies and hijacking aeroplanes, to name just a few. Having been victim of such acts of terrorism as the hijacking of an aeroplane of its national airline in 1978, the attacks and bombings of its diplomatic representation offices in a number of capitals in Europe and Asia in 1999 and the violation of its airspace by a criminal pilot in 2000, Viet Nam is fully aware that it is very important to have international cooperation in the prevention of those crimes and in the punishment of the culprits. It is the responsibility of each nation not to provide shelter or support in whatever form to the terrorists, before, during or after such acts of barbarism. Viet Nam is willing to fulfil its obligations in conformity with national and international law in a worldwide endeavour to counter terrorism.

There is a story about a happy six-year-old girl. She was happy because her mother had taken her to the top of World Trade Center building, as promised, so that she could look at the panoramic view of New York on that fateful day. She and her mother, together with thousands of others, disappeared, forever, in the ruins.

It is better to act than to react. We should not wait until the cow is stolen to lock the barn. Something should be done, and done fast, in a manner that is allowed for under the Charter, international laws and

international norms governing the relations among sovereign States.

Mr. Moutari (Niger) (*spoke in French*): May I address to you, Sir, the heartfelt congratulations of the Nigerian delegation on your eminent election to the presidency of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I also take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General Mr. Kofi Annan, on his eminent re-election to a second term at the helm of our Organization. On behalf of the Niger, I pay a ringing tribute to him for the strides that the United Nations has made during his first term and for his constant, tireless efforts in the service of humanity.

This debate on the measures to eliminate international terrorism is taking place under exceptionally grave circumstances in the aftermath of the despicable terrorist attacks perpetrated on 11 September in the United States — attacks that took thousands of innocent victims, men and women of all ages, cultures and faiths and of more than 80 nationalities.

In the wake of these terrible attacks, the Niger has expressed its position through two messages addressed to the United States authorities — one by the President of the Republic of the Niger and the other by the Government. These two documents state that the Niger vigorously and firmly condemns the blind violence that has just struck innocent people. The Niger is committed to becoming involved in all initiatives taken at the subregional and international levels, particularly those initiated by the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations, so that we can come up with concerted, lasting solutions to the threat posed by terrorism to international peace and security. We offer every means at our disposal for cooperating with the United States of America on the exchange of information and intelligence. We invite the international community to display prudence and discernment to avoid any confusion between terrorism and Islam.

The Niger endorses the terms of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), notably the appeal addressed to all States to work together with the utmost urgency to bring to justice those who perpetrated, organized and directed these terrorist attacks.

The Republic of the Niger condemns recourse to violence as a means of putting ideas forward or settling disputes. In practical terms, we have taken a number of measures to combat terrorism. At the international level, the Niger has proceeded to ratify the following major legal instruments designed to fight the various manifestations of terrorism: the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft; the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft; the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civilian Aviation; the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents; and the Organization of African Unity Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa.

Moreover, the Niger signed this year, in conformity with article III of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, for the purpose of verifying compliance with obligations assumed under the terms of that Treaty in order to ensure that nuclear energy is not diverted away from peaceful uses towards the production of nuclear weapons or any other nuclear explosive devices.

In the same context, the Niger also entered into a protocol this year with the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization relating to the establishment of two international monitoring stations in the Niger.

My country has furthermore begun the process of ratifying a number of texts on terrorism. These include the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Finally, my country will begin as soon as possible the process of ratifying the following conventions: the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation. Those are our activities at the international level.

Domestically, the relevant provisions of Niger's penal code punish acts of terrorism in conformity with international and regional conventions on the subject. And article 78 and subsequent articles of our penal code punish attacks, plots and other crimes against the authority of the State and against the security of our national territory.

Fighting and eradicating international terrorism requires comprehensive collective action within the framework of international law, of which the United Nations is the repository. Here, I hail the Organization's important contribution in the legal sphere. Under United Nations auspices, no less than 12 conventions have been formulated to deal with various aspects of terrorism. And beyond those legal instruments, two draft conventions are under discussion in the Sixth Committee. Niger hails the sponsors of the initiatives in that regard, India and the Russian Federation.

The draft text initiated by India relates to a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. That would be an important legal instrument defining the concept of international terrorism, because other conventions on international terrorism are sectoral in nature. The draft convention proposed by the Russian Federation relates to the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism.

My country very much hopes that those two draft texts will be completed as soon as possible. The adoption of the two draft instruments would provide the legal arsenal the international community needs to combat and eradicate this scourge.

Let me recall two key truths that have emerged as a leitmotif of this debate. First, Islam is a religion of peace, a religion of moderation. Thus, no credible interpretation of the basic sources of the religion of the Prophet can possibly justify murder or suicide, or even less suggest that these offer a shortcut to paradise. Muslim scholars the world over are unanimous about that. And the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which brings together 56 States representing nearly a billion Muslims, has strongly condemned these acts as contrary to Islam, to its own resolutions and to the Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism.

Secondly, terrorism derives from blind fanaticism, which is in turn born of ignorance and poverty. It follows that, ultimately, any strategy for the total eradication of terrorism cannot be limited to ad hoc or unilateral action. Niger therefore welcomes the emergence of a consensus view that if the fight against terrorism is to succeed, it will have to be collective and will have to encompass the need for a more just and equitable international economic and political order that takes more careful account of the interests of the greatest number of people.

It is obvious that extreme poverty, injustice and myriad frustrations can lead only to the extremism that poses a serious threat to the whole of mankind. For our fight to be effective, it must therefore be multisectoral and must call for an accelerated fight against poverty and injustice.

We hope that the high-level international conference proposed by the Non-Aligned Movement can provide an appropriate opportunity to formulate a programme of international cooperation that would include, inter alia, substantial technical and financial assistance to the least developed countries to enable them to make a meaningful contribution to the international fight against terrorism. Those measures should be complemented by other forthcoming conferences, including the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held at Monterrey, Mexico, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development, to be held at Johannesburg, South Africa.

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): Terrorism is among the most important challenges facing the international community. It arises time and again in the form of crimes against many innocent civilians. These crimes are intended to intimidate societies and to spread chaos and panic among peoples, and they serve to remind us of our responsibility to confront and eradicate this phenomenon.

Events have proved that terrorist acts result from extremist thinking unrelated to any particular geographical area, culture, religion or other factor. Terrorism breaches the basic values and principles embraced by the members of the international community to define their behaviour, and seeks to return us to the law of the jungle and to destroy the doctrine of free will.

Here, my delegation reiterates the powerful condemnation issued by the Government of Kuwait of the 11 September terrorist acts against the United States and its friendly people. We convey our heartfelt

condolences to the families of the victims, and we pray God to grant them patience and to hasten the recovery of those who were injured. We reaffirm our total support for United States Government efforts to confront terrorism and the criminal acts against it.

The role of the United Nations in confronting the terrorist acts against the United States began less than 24 hours after the perpetration of those unprecedented crimes against humanity. The Security Council adopted its resolution 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001, by which it condemned the terrorist attacks against the United States. On the same day, the General Assembly adopted resolution 56/1, by which it too condemned the terrorist attacks against the United States. I believe that the next Security Council resolution on this matter, resolution 1373 (2001), which was adopted on 28 September under Chapter VII of the Charter, constitutes a political and legal response that will help us excise this cancer that has spread throughout the body of our world.

We in Kuwait are in full support of all those United Nations endeavours, and we pledge our full cooperation with the international community in any action that could result in the eradication of these crimes, which are in fact crimes against all humanity, in bringing their perpetrators to justice, and in studying their root causes and reasons with a view to eliminating them or easing their impact.

International terrorism is one of the major issues on which the entire international community is focusing, because this phenomenon poses a specific danger to people's lives. No State, however large or small, can be immune to terrorism.

The phenomenon of terrorism did not come into existence only recently. The world has been aware of it for a long time now. What is new, however, is the increase, in the last few years, of the number of incidents and the expansion of its scope.

Kuwait has been, and still is, a victim of terrorism, and in particular State terrorism. The Amir of Kuwait was the subject of an assassination attempt during which a Kuwaiti aircraft was hijacked and Kuwaiti citizens killed. Many Kuwait institutions have been bombed, killing many innocent civilians and causing tremendous material losses. Thus, when we speak of terrorism, we speak of a reality that we have lived through in recent years.

The State of Kuwait wishes to affirm that combating terrorism is the responsibility of all countries of the world. We must work at all levels to combat terrorism in a manner that does not contravene the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. All States, therefore, must take the necessary legal measures — at the local, regional and international levels — to combat and eradicate terrorism. They must also implement the provisions of international law and of the relevant internationally binding resolutions, in order to suppress the execution, financing, or instigation of terrorist acts and to prevent the harbouring of their perpetrators. We would like to emphasize the importance of adopting carefully thought-out measures within that legal framework.

In that context, Kuwait supports the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations whose goal would be to arrive at a clear definition of terrorism and to work on an organized joint response by the international community as a whole against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

This is a responsibility that all of us must shoulder. The international community must concentrate on the importance of addressing the root causes that have led to the escalation of the phenomenon of terrorism and of eradicating such causes.

Kuwait reaffirms once again its total condemnation and rejection of all forms of terrorism. However, we must draw a distinction between the genuine struggle of peoples for self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and terrorism that targets innocent civilians.

We in Kuwait believe that the struggle of the Palestinian people, for example, in its legitimate resistance to Israeli occupation, cannot by any means be considered a form of terrorism. It is a legitimate form of self-defence and a defence of the rights of the people, pre-eminent among which is the right to life, to land and to sovereignty.

A genuine source of concern is the campaign being waged by the mass media to try to link Islam with terrorism. Needless to say, Islam, like many other divine religions, prohibits the killing of innocent civilians. This is in accordance with the principles of international law, which aim at strengthening cooperation between peoples in order to establish

peace. Islam is a religion of peace, love and brotherliness. God Almighty says in the Koran:

> "That if anyone slew a person — unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land — it would be as if he slew the whole people. And if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people." (*The Holy Koran, V:32*)

We would like, therefore, to emphasize that it is inadmissible to link terrorism and Islam, or terrorism and Arabs, if we wish to avoid a clash of religions and civilizations — the Arab and Islamic world on the one hand, and the West on the other. We reject that linkage, which is condemned on the international level. Anyone who says such things does not want peace or the well-being of peoples and is working against all values of peaceful coexistence between peoples, religions and cultures.

Our Holy Koran, which is the highest constitution for all Muslims, is based on the concept that

> "The most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you."

The Holy Koran also says that there is no difference between an Arab and a foreigner; only piety counts. It is well-known linguistically that a foreigner refers to a non-Arab. This is our religion. This is our Arab culture. These are the principles of coexistence we abide by, which conform to relevant international conventions and the Charter of the United Nations.

Our last prayer is to thank God and to praise the Almighty.

Mr. Shihab (Maldives): I would like to begin by reiterating my Government's condemnation of the horrendous terrorist attacks on New York City; Washington, D.C.; and Pennsylvania on 11 September 2001. I would like also to reaffirm the condolences of my Government to the Government and to the people of the United States on the great loss of human life and the trauma caused by the atrocious attacks. I also offer my Government's condolences to the other delegations whose compatriots were also among the victims of the outrage of 11 September.

We must not, we cannot and we should not tolerate terrorism in any form.

The attacks on the United States have undoubtedly given a new, more sinister meaning to international terrorism. The tremendous loss of life and incalculable damage to property resulting from the attacks has demonstrated the viciousness and the heinous nature of international terrorism and the pain and anguish that it can cause to human beings. These attacks have confirmed that civilization is no guarantee against barbarism.

My country was among the first States to condemn the terrorist attacks on the United States in the strongest possible terms. The Maldives has always denounced and deplored terrorism in unequivocal terms wherever and whenever it has occurred. Upon hearing the news of the barbaric attacks on the United States, President Gayoom immediately telephoned the United States Government to condemn the attacks and pledged full support to the United States in the hour of its tragedy. We stand by that pledge and we are cooperating fully with the United States in taking measures against terrorism. Small as our country is, and vulnerable also to attacks by terrorists, we took immediate steps to increase our vigilance against any movement by any terrorist from anywhere.

My country believes that strengthening the existing national, regional and international legal frameworks against terrorism is essential to effectively fighting the war against terrorism. My country is happy to note the positive manner in which the work in this field is progressing. We are encouraged by the constructive work that is being carried out by the working group on terrorism to finalize a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. We are also looking forward to the early conclusion of the proposed international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism, which we believe will broaden and further strengthen the international legal regime. My delegation also supports the early convening of the high-level conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to formulate a jointly organized response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

To us in the Maldives, any terrorist attack anywhere brings back memories of the carnage caused by terrorists in the Maldives in November 1988. Every year since that time, my delegation has addressed this Assembly on the need for effective and timely international cooperation to combat and eliminate terrorism, which is almost always transnational in nature. In an age of globalization and high finance, our

vigilance against terrorism and organized crime has to be stepped up.

Following our own tragic experience as a victim of terrorism, we have strengthened out national legal framework to counter terrorism. Under our Anti-Terrorism Law of 1990, I am happy to report that we have enabled ourselves to be in full compliance with Security Council resolutions 1333 (2000) and 1373 (2001). We have taken measures, such as those called for in resolutions 1333 (2000) and 1373 (2001), so that no activities can be undertaken in the Maldives to support terrorist acts. Our laws ensure that no terrorist can find safe haven on our shores and that terrorists cannot enter the Maldives, let alone undertake any activities in the Maldives. We have acceded to the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, along with seven other international conventions on terrorism. We are now completing the process of signing the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

As in the past, my delegation would also like to assert that terrorism is linked to a wide network of organized crime. We must therefore target not only terrorists, but all those who assist terrorists and benefit from terrorist activities. Quite often, those who smuggle arms and launder funds from the illicit trade in narcotics operate hand in hand with terrorists. Similarly, mercenaries who provide training and supply weapons of terror also pose a serious threat to peace and security. In this regard, we believe that it is high time that the international community give serious thought to ratifying the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries as well.

The important and positive role that regional cooperation can play in combating terrorism cannot be overemphasized. Increased interaction, consultation and cooperation at the regional level can pave the way to setting up effective security arrangements and legal frameworks that complement efforts at the international level. In South Asia, a region that understands the destructive effects of terrorism, a regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism is presently in force. Under the provisions of the Convention, States members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) are committed to extraditing or prosecuting terrorists, thus preventing them from enjoying safe haven. A Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk also functions under SAARC with the aim of collecting, analysing and disseminating information on incidents of terrorism, along with tactics, strategies and methods used by terrorists. However, a lot more remains to be done if we are to have an impact on terrorism in our region.

My delegation would like to compliment the Security Council for the prompt manner in which the horrifying attacks on the United States were condemned and for quickly acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, detailing measures to be taken by the world community to combat terrorism. In a global village, an attack against one is an attack against all, especially where the fundamental tenets of civilization come under attack. My country has long valued and stressed the importance of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States, adopted by the United Nations in October 1970 in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, contained in General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV). Adherence to these Principles is so crucial to the peace, security and well-being of small States, such as the Maldives. In a globalized world, the observance of these Principles is of profound importance indeed to all States, big and small.

Our aim is to live in a more peaceful world, one where the small shall feel as secure as the mighty and where the fruits of human labour and ingenuity are not destroyed by wanton acts of barbarism. Never before has the international community come together to speak in one voice, as it has now, to condemn the senseless and brutal murder of so many people. We must seize the moment to ensure that such a tragedy is never allowed to occur again. We stand shoulder to shoulder with the world community in doing our utmost to this end.

Mr. Kawah (Liberia): Over the past three weeks, we have concentrated on the matter of terrorism to a degree which is unprecedented, not only here at the United Nations but throughout the entire world. This high degree of attention, as many have observed, is principally the result of the wave of terrorism recently perpetrated on the United States of America and the American people, which has caused an immeasurable loss of innocent life, acute fear and suffering, and economic dislocation and downturn throughout the world.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon; however, it is changing in its scope, parameters and scale. It has reached a new level of viciousness and insidiousness; it has reawakened fear and vulnerability within us because of its senselessness and because we cannot rationalize or comprehend it.

We sit here deliberating only a brief distance from the site of one of the greatest crimes ever inflicted on civilization, a crime that threatens to tear apart our spirit and our vision of a better world. The United Nations is now called upon to draw upon its great reserves of resolve so as to eliminate the scourge of humankind that has brought death and sorrow to so many of God's children. We must respond together to the call. All of us have a stake in the outcome of this struggle.

Liberia is a small nation with big problems: we have been torn apart by a long civil war, we are suffering as a result of the ongoing conflicts that surround us and we are beset by internal political strife. Yet we hold onto a clear vision that we, too, must contribute our voice and support to world efforts to rid all peoples and cultures of the threat of ignorance and evil.

Terrorism can be allowed no part of our collective future. Even as we speak, small groups of self-appointed rebels are challenging, with arms, the stability and progress of our fragile Liberian democratic system. They bring death, destruction and anarchy, not truth or enlightenment. Now is the time to call a halt to terrorism, with its corrosive effect on our social and religious foundations.

In their grief and shock over the events of 11 September, the Americans have issued a call to all of us to join in a common effort to eliminate the elements among us that would destroy our values, kill our innocents and impose fear on our lives. The nations here must unite to prevent even transient success for those elements.

My Government has already expressed to the Government and the people of the United States of America its profound regret, as well as its horror and disbelief, at the cold-blooded murder of so many of its citizens that took place on 11 September. As President Taylor said,

> "We share the sorrow and distress of the suffering American people. In the name of humanity, love and affection, which have no boundaries, we identify with you and share your anxiety".

For many years now, terrorism has been growing at an alarming rate and has visited every Member of this Organization. In recognition of the need to combat this scourge, world leaders, in the Millennium Declaration, committed themselves to

> "take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions." (*resolution 55/2, para. 9*)

Equally important is adherence to those conventions. To this end, the Government of Liberia has instructed me to sign the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings.

At the thirty-fifth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Algiers, Algeria, in July 1999, the OAU adopted a Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. This Convention explicitly acknowledges the fact that terrorism constitutes a serious violation of human rights, in particular of the rights to physical integrity, life, freedom and security, and that it impedes socio-economic development through the destabilization of States. It concludes that political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic or other motives can never be used in justification or defence of terrorist acts.

Today, the peoples of the entire world — not only those of the United States and other developed countries — face personal and collective dangers from this new wave of terrorism from lone individuals or small groups of people who, for personal, selfish and parochial reasons bring untold tragedy to the lives of other people by committing unspeakable acts of violence.

In discussing such manifestations of terrorism and United Nations plans for dealing with this affliction, this gathering should remember that, although such plans are essential in the short term, in the longer term our Organization must not lose sight of the underlying causes of terrorism. In this respect, we are still shrouded in a considerable fog of ignorance, and sometimes of denial.

We believe that the root cause of these nefarious acts is the lack of a proper balance between the liberty of the individual or group of individuals, and the needs of society in general. It has been said that

> "Liberty causeth man to overstep the bounds of propriety, and to infringe on the dignity of his station. It debaseth him to the level of extreme depravity and wickedness." (*Kitab-i-Aqdas, verse 123*)

We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the liberty of individuals or groups of individuals to act as they wish can never be absolute.

In our search for solutions and remedy, we must acknowledge that peace, security and the well-being of mankind will not be obtainable unless and until global unity is firmly established. What we need to develop among mankind is genuine respect for humanity. This is the goal we should pursue, and, once it is achieved, the fierce nationalism and parochial interests that underlie, or are used as justification for, acts of terror will be undermined. In short, we should develop a sense of world citizenship. Accordingly, the oneness of mankind should become a conscious goal of our political, educational and religious life. Every nation, race, religion, sect or tribe should have its rightful place in this global village. Globalization must manifest itself in equity, true universality and purity of self, and divest itself of nationalistic and exploitative trappings.

In condemning all acts of terrorism, the Liberian Government, in conjunction with other nations of the world, supports the initiatives of the Non-Aligned Movement, including the call for a high-level conference on international terrorism, held under the auspices of the United Nations, to focus on the total elimination of acts of war launched by terrorists the world over.

The conclusion of such a conference should be to universally condemn every act of terrorism, be it committed by ally or foe; create an international cooperation centre; make economic opportunities and development available to and possible for all; identify the causes of despair and poverty and act upon that knowledge; continue to acknowledge the diversity of customs and religion and to recognize economic disparities; ensure that the helpless and innocent do not suffer; and ensure full respect for all international conventions so that no nation, large or small, abandons basic principles of law.

Liberia stands ready to do its part to defeat this menace to our cherished norms of international interaction that foster international trade, travel and commerce. Furthermore, my Government is in full support of the anti-terrorism efforts of the United States and other nations and unreservedly condemns all acts of terrorism, their perpetrators, organizers and sponsors. It is prepared to participate in any and all efforts to eliminate this crime from the face of the earth. In doing so, we must make certain that the principles enshrined in the Charter of this Organization are upheld.

Finally, we must admit in all candour that it will be impossible to eliminate terrorism unless, and until, some sort of conscious consensus is reached on the norms that would govern world unity and togetherness. As has been said, "The earth is but one country, and mankind its citizens."

Mr. Erdös (Hungary): Taking the floor after so many speakers in this debate on terrorism, I fully recognize that previous speakers have already covered the multiple aspects of both how we all felt and how we continue to feel about what happened on 11 September in New York City and other places in the United States and how the international community should be waging an uncompromising struggle against this deadly phenomenon of our times.

Here at the United Nations, we have been speaking for years about the many global problems that transcend national borders and that affect each and every one of us. Reference was made not just once to international terrorism as one of those global problems. As time went by and events unfolded, it became ever more obvious that no one could feel safe and secure in the face of the many difficult issues that have left their dramatic imprints on life in the four corners of our globalizing world. The barbaric acts of 11 September have proven with elementary force that, in fact, terrorism knows no boundaries. Its horrifying consequences show, as unambiguously as ever, the interrelated nature of our societies. They demonstrate that terrorist acts in one country can have wide-ranging repercussions in many other parts of the world.

As has already been said many times in the last three weeks, the terrorist strikes in this country are an attack against everything we all stand for, everything

we believe in, and go against the very foundations of our civilization. I wish to reiterate my Government's position that there can be no justification whatsoever for any kind of terrorist act.

Hungary fully supports the statement made by the European Union in this debate. Combating terrorism must become a priority objective of the international community. Since this struggle will be a multifaceted and complex undertaking, we need the strongest resolve, unrelenting determination and effective coordination within the community of nations. A global coalition is imperative, where all nations act in unison and in the same cohesive spirit of purpose in order to prevent and to suppress the scourge of terrorism. This large coalition is emerging as we speak within the framework of the United Nations.

What happened in New York City and elsewhere in this country in early September was a wake-up call — perhaps the last wake-up call — for all of us at the national, regional and international levels. We all have been speaking about the threat of international terrorism. We have been witnessing its rampage across the globe. There can be no doubt that we were taking various steps to counter its threat; yet, we were caught unprepared as we watched the horrible outburst of this contemporary evil in our host city. By now, the question is not so much about choosing sides any more in this planetary fight against terrorists as it is about the most effective ways to combat them.

Mr. Kamara (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The United Nations has not remained idle in the face of the September tragedy. The full solidarity of the world community, including my own country, with the Government and people of the United States is on public record. In the immediate aftermath of the tragedy, our world Organization, through the Security Council and General Assembly, reacted to the events without delay and in no uncertain terms. And the most recent Security Council resolution is an integral part of the emerging strategy to identify ways and means of taking up the challenge of terrorism, this time with more determination and consistency, including ongoing monitoring activities. Part of this strategy should be the completion of work on the two draft international conventions on the suppression of nuclear terrorism and on international terrorism.

There might be many other ways to tackle this global enemy of humankind. Various other United Nations entities, such as the Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention in Vienna, multilateral organizations, such as Interpol and many others, all need to have a second look at their strategies and action plans, which will have to be updated and better coordinated in order to achieve maximum efficiency. Simultaneously, and no less importantly as a reflection of expected evolution in the multilateral field, the development of a harmonized network of national legislative measures is also necessary.

Aware of the significance of regional and international cooperation, Hungary has concluded a set of bilateral treaties on terrorism with 28 States, including most of its neighbours. In 1996, Hungary acceded to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism in the framework of the Council of Europe. Hungarian efforts in this field have also been bolstered by ever-increasing cooperation with the European Union. Equally, Hungary's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization entails cooperation and the provision of concrete support in the collective fight against terrorism. Hungary is also party to 10 of the 12 major international conventions pertaining to international terrorism. As regards the two remaining ones, on 7 September the Hungarian Parliament ratified the 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. The 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism will also be signed this year and ratified by our Parliament at an early date.

The Hungarian Parliament, in a resolution adopted in the wake of the terrorist attacks, called for the further development of international law in the struggle against global terrorism. Hungary believes that efforts in this direction must be intensified. Regarding the two as yet unfinished international conventions related to terrorism, my country is looking forward to a constructive discussion on the text of the draft convention on the suppression of nuclear terrorism and believes that the time has come for speedy finalization, on a priority basis, of the draft on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

We have to recognize that this vast strategy of combating the terrorist threat contains several interdisciplinary elements. The struggle to defeat terrorism must be an overarching theme in the whole

spectrum of human activities, in the fields of diplomacy, security, the judiciary, intelligence and in financial, social, humanitarian and economic endeavours. For this struggle to be effective, adequate solutions must be found to the many issues that create instability and conflict and that are the breeding ground for the phenomenon of terrorism. Each and every nation on Earth must feel, irrespective of its location on the map and the level of its development, that it is a genuine stakeholder in this fight, that this universal undertaking also responds to its national preoccupations and priorities.

Finally, a strong alliance against terrorists implies much better coordination of our efforts to reach the goals laid down in the Millennium Declaration. It implies the most resolute rejection of suggestions of a clash among various religious beliefs and cultural traditions. It also implies an unequivocal refusal of cheap demagoguery, nationalist extremism and racism, at a time when tolerance, mutual understanding, human solidarity and openness must become, as importantly as ever, the guiding principles in our quest to create enlightened democratic and inclusive societies.

Mr. Al-Shamsi (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): I am honoured at the outset to extend to Mr. Han our heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of this important session of the General Assembly, which is being held in very unusual international circumstances. We are fully confident that his wisdom and political expertise will contribute to the success of our work.

I wish on this occasion to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his report on this item, which will strengthen international endeavours to combat terrorism. I wish to show my full support for the positions stated to the Assembly by my colleague the representative of Libya in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group.

On 11 September the entire world saw three grave attacks on America, in which thousands of its citizens were killed. Citizens of 80 other countries who happened to be at the sites where these barbaric attacks occurred were also killed. The perpetrators of these criminal and regrettable acts, despite the fact that they directly targeted the city of New York — the United Nations host city — as well as the sovereignty of the United States, with which the United Arab Emirates has very unique friendly relations and solid historical interests, have shown their real extremist face, which has targeted not only the American people, but also other people who have expressed their solidarity with the United States.

The United Arab Emirates, which was one of the first countries to express its heartfelt condolences to the people and the Government of the United States and the families of the victims of these brutal attacks, which we strongly condemn, determined from the moment of the attacks to cooperate in the exchange of information and to fully support all American endeavours in the fight against terrorism, in pursuing the perpetrators and in bringing them to justice. We have cut off diplomatic relations with the Taliban Government, since it has not responded to the will of the international community, which has called for it to surrender Osama bin Laden to face a fair international trial for the indictments against him in the attacks on the United States and in compliance with Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), adopted last Friday.

The United Arab Emirates has taken some rigorous measures to stop attempts to finance terrorism, including announcing a list of individuals and organizations that have ties to terrorist attacks, freezing their accounts, deposits and investments and imposing punitive measures on any individual conducting transactions with these entities.

The position and action of the United Arab Emirates in this regard was neither a coincidence nor the result of external pressures. It was the result of our absolute belief in human justice and the importance of joining the international community to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. This phenomenon has become one of the most important international challenges and threatens all humans regardless of creed, because of the growth and spread of criminal methods used by terrorists. This not only causes the loss of innocent civilians and the destruction of public and private property, but also undermines the security and the stability of States and their national economies.

In condemning all terrorist practices, whatever their source or objective, we wish to emphasize that combating this dangerous phenomenon that extends beyond national and regional borders is a joint international responsibility. No State or region can face it alone. This requires primarily that the international community find a framework for a comprehensive

strategy to combat it, based on justice, balance and transparency. We would like, as a priority, to find a clear and specific definition of terrorism that distinguishes between criminal acts against innocent civilians and their property and the interests and stability of countries and peoples, and between the legitimate struggle of people under foreign domination or occupation for their liberation and self-determination, which is not considered a form of terrorism on the basis of the Charter, international law and resolutions of international legitimacy.

We consider State terrorism, which is practised by the Israeli Government against the Palestinian people daily, to be the most dangerous kind of international terrorism. This includes the killing of thousands of innocent civilians, arbitrary arrests, the prevention of people's movement and of the transport of food and medication, the confiscation of land, the destruction of property and infrastructure and the desecration of Islamic and Christian holy places. All of this takes place in disregard of international law and relevant resolutions of international legitimacy that prohibit collective terrorism against an entire people, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

Therefore, we wish to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that the Israeli Government is trying to exploit the current unusual situation, following the attacks against the United States, to kill and maim and compel many Palestinians to emigrate from their land and end the legitimate resistance to bring about their liberation, independence and self-determination.

Like other speakers, we wish to emphasize the need to reach a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement for the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East, which will put an end to frustration, despair and extremist responses that are violent and threaten not only the region, but the world as a whole. We are very concerned about the purpose of biased and provocative mass media campaigns and modern communications networks deployed against Arabs and Muslims, which have caused hundreds of them to suffer bodily, financial and moral harm as institutions, individuals and groups living abroad.

We insist that international efforts be strengthened to put an end to these racist acts, which we consider terroristic, against Arabs and Muslims. This is a form of cultural and civilizational confrontation, which will only lead to hostility between peoples and nations and heat up hot spots and cause insecurity and instability all over the world.

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize the important role of the United Nations in any arrangements or international plan to combat terrorism within the context of the conventions and protocols dealing with all forms of combating terrorism, the most important of which is the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. In that regard, we urge the international community to respond to the proposals made by some Arab leaders and the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement in favour of holding an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations. This would contribute to providing a complete and joint response to combat terrorism politically, technologically and legally. This will finally put an end to this evil, which is threatening not only our present economic, cultural and human wealth, but also our future generations.

Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation would like at the outset to associate itself with the statement made by His Excellency the Permanent Representative of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on behalf of the Arab Group in the United Nations.

The General Assembly is discussing today an issue that truly touches upon the essence of international relations and the interests of States, nations, peoples and religions. The discussion should therefore be objective and constructive so we can reach a common position that deals with the core of the problem before us. All this must be done without pressure, blackmail, exploitation, hegemony, domination and unilateral action.

It is clear that the current discussion is a result of the events that took place in the United States on 11 September 2001, which led to the death of a large number of victims. This raises a number of questions that require all of us to think responsibly, while remaining resolutely faithful to the responsibilities that we shoulder under the Charter.

The United Nations and other regional and international organizations have made continuous and

tireless efforts since 1972 to deal with the issue of terrorism. This has resulted in a number of international conventions and agreements on various types of actions that deal with several aspects of the question. But we should recall that these efforts have regrettably still not even led to an agreement on a clear definition of terrorism, and that the matter is still subject to political opinions, speculations and interests.

On the other hand, we should also recall that the discussion of this issue within this Organization has been linked from the beginning with the necessity of studying the roots of the problem and the reasons that lie behind committing such actions, which are to be combated. And we support combating them. We should all admit to the great shortcomings in this area.

Today's world suffers from a number of negative phenomena. We are witnessing global suffering, especially in the third world — the countries of the South — because of political coercion, economic and political blackmail, the use of force and aggression, the unilateral conduct of international relations, the law of might rather than the rule of law and the distinction among peoples and communities on the basis of their cultural, ethnic and religious origins. All these factors contribute to creating dangerous elements that arouse the worst of feelings and approaches to combating injustice and tyranny.

My country, Iraq, has suffered and is still suffering from acts of terrorism, including State terrorism under different names. Consequently, we understand, and we are deeply aware of, the consequences of such acts that cause suffering and sacrifices among innocent people. This was our feeling towards the loss of civilian victims as a result of the explosions in the United States recently. We did not rejoice or gloat at what happened, as some Zionist circles or some in the mass media have said, in a clear attempt at provocation.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Tariq Aziz, sent personal letters of condolence to some prominent American figures, who had expressed sympathy for the people of Iraq when they lost hundreds of thousands of innocent victims as a result of acts of terrorism, which the United States and the United Kingdom have been undertaking against Iraq since August 1990. In these letters, the Deputy Prime Minister expressed condolences to the bereaved families of the victims and to every honourable American citizen who has shown solidarity with the people of Iraq in their plight.

Iraq has, to date, lost more than 1.6 million of its innocent children, women and the elderly as a result of the continued unjust sanctions and the siege imposed by the United States through the Security Council on Iraq. The United States has striven, and continues to strive, to maintain sanctions by every means. Iraq has lost thousands of innocent civilians as a result of the military terrorist acts that have been carried out by the United States and the United Kingdom against the people of Iraq from 17 January 1991 until now.

Moreover, the last American-British aggression against Iraq occurred the day before yesterday and killed two civilians in the city of Basra. Furthermore, the large devastation caused by these barbaric attacks was directed against every sector of life and the whole infrastructure of Iraq, including schools, hospitals, factories, residential neighbourhoods, streets, bridges, mosques, churches, water sanitation plants, sewage plants, electricity plants and oil refineries. American missiles did not spare even the graveyards.

During the 1991 aggression against Iraq, the United States and the United Kingdom deliberately contaminated the environment by using depleted uranium. This caused a tenfold increase in cancer cases compared with 1990 figures.

The United States far surpassed those terrorist acts against Iraq by adopting what it called the Iraq Liberation Act, which included specific provisions on organizing, financing and supporting terrorist acts aimed at attaining an illegitimate goal in violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and all conventions and norms governing international relations: that goal was for a foreign Power to change the political system of Iraq by force. Under that act, the United States has set aside nearly $100 million, $97 million to be exact. Under that national legislation, the United States is training groups of mercenaries — who once bore Iraqi nationality — on military bases in the United States in order to prepare them to be sent into Iraq to carry out terrorist operations in our cities. These would include bombings and assassinations and would be aimed at the political destabilization of Iraq.

But it is not only the United States and the United Kingdom that are doing such things. Other countries too are carrying out armed terrorism against Iraq by organizing, supporting and financing terrorists who

sneak over the border to engage in sabotage, assassinations and bombings within Iraq.

In another sphere, I must mention the acts of the Israeli authorities in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories, with direct support and financing from the United States and with that country's unequivocal international protection. These include targeted assassinations, the mass murder of the people, displacement of the people, the imposition of siege, preventing the delivery of food, destroying houses, bulldozing farms, bombing cities and villages with high-technology United States weaponry, and the use of depleted-uranium munitions and poison gas. By any international standard, those acts are organized terrorism against an entire population whose land has been looted and whose rights have been ignored. It will take a serious, broad-based international effort to put an end to this organized terrorism and to bring justice to the Palestinian people.

What is happening in Palestine is happening also in many other parts of the world, especially in the third-world countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

In that connection, Iraq has explicitly stated its position in two internationally disseminated letters from His Excellency President Saddam Hussein, dated 15 September and 18 September 2001, which make reference to these facts. Their purpose is simply to encourage the United States to act responsibly, wisely, rationally, foresightedly and fairly, and to carry out a comprehensive review of its domestic and foreign policy in order to identify ways to guarantee the security and stability of the United States and of the international community at large, and not to act on an unbridled wish to incite hatred, chauvinism and a crusader mentality aimed at retaliating against an unknown enemy, or to exploit the attacks as a cover for settling old scores against any particular nation, religion or Arab or Islamic country.

Those letters were intended to remind United States politicians of the need for a comprehensive review of what their country's political and economic system represents in terms of oppression and aggression against United States citizens belonging to ethnic or religious minorities and against millions of other poor Americans, and of what United States policy stands for in the eyes of the world in terms of hegemony, slavery and the denial of rights and legitimate aspirations and interests, and to call upon them to make use of the means provided by international law, which is the core duty of State leaders who act responsibly and who are interested in a world order that is just and fair, and that does not include the elimination of peoples or economic blockades against peoples, which deprive them of their basic human rights. Under such a world order, everyone would enjoy peace and security and would share equally and fairly in humanitarian values.

In a statement issued on 22 September 2001, His Excellency President Saddam Hussein explicitly called upon the United States to act with justice and to make numerous, broad friendships as it did in the past. It would then find its circle of friends enlarging and expanding.

Fighting terrorism requires, first and foremost, agreement on the definition of terrorism. We need a clear definition that is neither misleading nor vague so that it cannot be distorted to gain political advantage, to punish acts that are unrelated to terrorism, or to ignore obvious terrorist acts.

Arab States were the first to offer initiatives in the United Nations to combat terrorism; they have been doing so since 1972. These have met with broad international understanding and have been ratified at summit meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other intergovernmental organizations. This is reflected in the adoption of the Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, the Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism and the Organization of African Unity Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism.

Here, I want to reaffirm the natural inalienable right of all peoples struggling against foreign occupation, colonial domination and aggression in all its military and economic forms to counter the aggression they face and to stand up against sanctions and exploitation. That right is set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in agreed conventions and norms of international law. The legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people against occupation, terrorism and Zionist aggression cannot be considered terrorism. Nor can the legitimate struggle of the peoples of the world against United States siege and embargo and against

United States and United Kingdom colonial aggression be viewed as terrorism.

The issue of terrorism is multifaceted and multidimensional. It requires a joint endeavour by the international community if it is to be resolved in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and not in accordance with individual interests, advantages or the exigencies of a given situation.

This must include all acts of violence, whether perpetrated by individuals or by States, carried out in violation of international law. These acts include settler occupation and settler colonialism; the unilateral use of force; aggression and interference in the internal affairs of States; the training, financing and arming of military groups with a view to destabilizing the internal security of States; the provoking of separatist and ethnic and religious conflicts; economic and social pressures; cultural and religious repression; mass murder; the use of prohibited weapons; the imposition of starvation policies; and attempts to deprive certain States of the right to technical, cultural and scientific advancements and development. Let us not forget, either, the resort by certain countries to the use of threats, blackmail and bribery to set some nations against each other.

Finally, every act that violates international law is a form of terrorism, whether carried out by an individual, an organization or a State. No action carried out in accordance with international law as it was before the American hegemony of the world should be considered to be terrorism.

Mr. Baialinov (Kyrgyzstan) (*spoke in Russian*): On behalf of the delegation of the Kyrgyz Republic, may I extend our most sincere condolences to the Government and the people of the United States and to the relatives and loved ones of those who died or were injured in the unprecedented terrorist acts that took place in this country. The people of the Kyrgyz Republic deeply mourn the many innocent victims of this loathsome act. Those who perpetrate and encourage such cruel and hateful acts can never be forgiven.

We also express our condolences to Israel and Russia, which also have apparently lost citizens to a terrorist act against a Russian TU-154 plane that was flying from Tel Aviv to Novosibirsk.

These tragic events demonstrate once again that terrorism knows no national borders. Kyrgyzstan has always condemned, and continues to condemn, international terrorism and extremism in all of its manifestations and continues to advocate a strengthening of international cooperation to combat this global scourge, in order to prevent such acts from happening again.

In his statement of 25 September 2001, the President of Kyrgyzstan, Mr. Askar Akayev, expressed the country's readiness to make available its airspace for the conduct of anti-terrorist operations in Afghanistan. Kyrgyzstan is also prepared to discuss any other form of assistance and cooperation.

Our country has taken a firm stance with regard to international terrorism, extremism and drug trafficking. The international community must combat these evils — which have no specific national or religious origins — until they are eradicated.

The President emphasized that our country's position has always been clear-cut: the source of the threat to security in the region has always been and remains Afghanistan and the Taliban regime, from which have emerged drug trafficking, terrorism and religious extremism, which today pose a tremendous threat to the entire world. In the past three years, our region has been confronted with these three sources of destabilization. From the very outset, our President emphasized, we have been convinced that the only way to fight these three security threats is through the collective efforts of the international community.

Central Asia has been at the forefront of the fight against international terrorism and religious extremism. In 1999 and 2000, our Republic was forced to carry our broad-scale actions in the south of the country in order to rout large bands of rebels who had invaded our territory. We were able to deal with this threat through the armed forces of our country, with military and technical assistance from Russia and with the support of neighbours.

Guided not only by our own national interests but by those of other countries and regions affected by the threat of terrorism, Kyrgyzstan has consistently and firmly advocated collective efforts to combat international terrorism and religious extremism. We welcome the calls made by the United Nations and the international community for collective action, which already have been translated into concrete

organizational measures. In this connection, Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), adopted last week, represents a step forward in our fight against terrorism.

For a campaign against international terrorism to be effective, we need to present a united anti-terrorist front that includes all continents, regions and countries. That is why the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) established a CIS anti-terrorist centre, within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, headquartered in Bishkek. The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism was adopted within that same framework, and at that same Centre, located in the capital of our country.

The establishment of such centres has been prompted by the fact that the threat of international terrorism is so great that global anti-terrorist centres are not enough: regional, subregional and local centres are also needed. Together, acting in coordination, they can reach all regions of the world that have been infected by the deadly terrorist virus.

The forces of terrorism and religious extremism, in their fight against the civilized world, are acting in close coordination with those of the drug world, which is using Central Asia as a major transhipment point for sending drugs to Russia and further on to the West. Therefore a joint campaign of the international community as a whole against drug trafficking would represent a direct blow to terrorism, and vice versa.

An important element of the mechanism of such a campaign is the conduct of global investigations into illicit international drug activity, which would allow us, in a timely manner, to identify organized criminal groups and provide States Members of the United Nations and the international community with reliable data and analyses on the activities of transnational criminal organizations.

International terrorism today is not only a powerful military organization relying on mobile, very well armed criminals acting stealthily and treacherously; it also relies on subversion, ideological subterfuge, religious extremism and the fomenting of inter-ethnic conflicts.

A focal point for the ideology of international terrorism in Central Asia has now become the Hizbut Tahrir party, established in 1953 in Palestine. Since 1995 that party has begun to extend its activities to the territory of Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan.

We must fight these criminals with weapons, but we must also combat religious extremism and fanaticism through the force of persuasion and education. True Islam is a humanitarian faith, one of eternal truths and high moral values. Those who put forward harmful ideas are heretics of Islam.

There is yet another particular feature in Central Asia. As has been repeatedly pointed out by the President of Kyrgyzstan, our opponents have one major potential ally within our countries: that is, poverty and unemployment. They are in fact the major breeding grounds of all types of extremism. From this standpoint, it is extremely important for the entire international community to make every effort to root out that evil.

As has been repeatedly emphasized from this rostrum, we can put an end to terrorism only through the collective efforts of the international community to establish a global system of measures to combat its threats and challenges.

Mr. Andino Salazar (El Salvador) (*spoke in Spanish*): I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Han on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifty-sixth session. I wish him and the other members of the Bureau every success in carrying out their mission, especially since their term comes at the time of an exceptionally difficult and complex international situation arising from the terrorist acts that occurred in the United States. These circumstances will again test the capacity and readiness of the United Nations and its Member States to live up to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter, particularly with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

As the representative of Chile put it, speaking on behalf of the Rio Group, we reiterate the importance for the General Assembly to adopt concrete decisions at the conclusion of this debate that complement the measures already adopted in the fight against terrorism.

At the unilateral level and jointly with the rest of the Central American countries, the people and Government of El Salvador, in the declaration on Central America united against terrorism, have demonstrated their solidarity with and grief for the people and Government of the United States of America, categorically condemning the acts of terrorism and expressing the firm resolve to cooperate in and support the adoption and implementation of

measures aimed at punishing those responsible, in accordance with the norms of international law. We fully support and offer all our cooperation in the implementation of measures recommended at the hemispheric level and in the provisions of General Assembly resolution 56/1 and, in particular, of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), which call on us to recognize the need and to decide on measures to enhance international cooperation to prevent, suppress and eliminate terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

On behalf of the people and Government of El Salvador, I reiterate the expressions of solidarity, grief and support for the people and Government of the United States, in particular for the families of the victims of these utterly odious terrorist acts, and our support for the right of the United States, as an aggressed State, to adopt measures of legitimate individual and collective self-defence to ensure the security of its citizens, property and institutions. Those responsible for the acts of 11 September must be brought to justice, while every effort should be made — as Cardinal Edward Egan of New York said on 1 October at the worldwide synod of bishops at the Vatican — to avoid committing injustices against those who had nothing to do with the attacks.

Acts of terrorism are not new to modern history. They have been used in various forms and for various objectives, justified by some and condemned by others. Apart from any justification that might be sought and the fact that such attacks are unanimously repudiated and condemned by society, most victims are innocent people and the property and economic infrastructure that are destroyed serve the progress and well-being of peoples.

During the 1980s, Central America, and El Salvador in particular, suffered from armed conflict in which terrorist acts were part of the daily lives of our people. The negative consequences of these acts included a heavy toll in human life, the destruction of the economic infrastructure and constant anguish and uncertainty amongst our people in the face of violent acts that were liable to strike anywhere and at any moment and in general, set back the country's growth and development.

These and many other terrorist acts that have occurred in various countries and regions, along with their grave and tragic consequences for the people who have endured them — be it within their borders, on the high seas or aboard aircraft — did not sufficiently elicit the international community's concern and understanding of what terrorism means for the development of peoples and for peaceful coexistence in modern times.

The irrational and reprehensible terrorist acts against the people and Government of the United States, the consequences of which touch many of our countries, have aroused the widespread opinion and awareness that the scourge of terrorism, with its danger, threat, scope and magnitude, must stand at the forefront of global debate. These acts have revealed the vulnerability of each and every member of the international community. As we face a challenge, the particular features of which we are all familiar with, the fight against and eradication of terrorism — as has been repeatedly noted in this debate — require resolute, firm and joint action on the part of the international community and the cooperation and full support of each and every Member of this Organization to combat a common enemy that is one of the most inhuman scourges inflicted upon our peoples at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

We know that the struggle against terrorism will be neither easy nor swift. As we seek to eliminate it, it is important to note that a general view has evolved in favour of implementing existing international instruments, of considering new initiatives and of adopting national measures to promote and strengthen cooperation in the fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

In this respect, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, El Salvador is committed to complying strictly with international conventions on terrorism to which it is a State party. It is studying the other conventions on this issue to which it is not a party — including the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism — so that, in accordance with our relevant domestic legislation, we may accede to them as soon as possible.

In the context of additional immediate steps that reflect the interest, resolve and commitment of the States Members of our Organization, my Government supports and urges the Ad Hoc Committee created by

General Assembly resolution 51/210 to conclude its work on the draft convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and to start and conclude work as soon as possible on the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism, which will comprehend and complement the international instruments on terrorism. In this way, and in distinction from the 1994 Declaration and its 1996 follow-up on measures to eliminate international terrorism, we shall adopt an instrument with provisions binding on all States to abstain from supporting, helping, organizing and protecting terrorists and from allowing them to use their national territories for terrorist purposes. India's proposal, which we have considered on past occasions, is an excellent basis for accelerating the process of adopting that draft convention.

Similarly, the Government of El Salvador believes that, in the light of recent events, it is important that we once again consider the possibility of convening a high-level conference — under the auspices of the United Nations, the universally recognized institution for coordinating the efforts of nations to attain common ends — to consider measures and new and additional machinery for the international community's effective struggle against terrorism.

In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm the political determination of the Government of El Salvador to cooperate, to the best of its abilities, in the international effort to combat terrorism. To that end, we have adopted a package of measures at the domestic level, including improved checks and security arrangements at our ports and airports, tighter controls on the movement of people, particularly citizens of countries that might contain radical groups affiliated with terrorism, and investigations into the financial system so as to ensure that there are no bank accounts containing funds that might be used for terrorist purposes.

Furthermore, in accordance with the commitments contained in the Central American declaration against terrorism, the heads of State of the region decided to convene extraordinary meetings of the Central American Security Commission with the heads of the national civil police forces of Central America and the Conference of the Armed Forces of Central America. They also decide to study other relevant national steps aimed at assisting in the fight against terrorism.

We have also heeded the international appeal, at both the hemispheric and the global levels, reaffirming our determination to provide support in the fight against terrorism.

I should like to take this opportunity to mention the fact that, from 25 to 28 September, a presidential commission from El Salvador, headed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, María Eugenia Brizuela de Avila, and the Minister for Security and Governance, Francisco Bertrand Galindo, visited Washington and New York, the cities hardest hit by the terrorist acts, so that they could directly express their solidarity with the people and the Government of the United States, as well as with the families of the victims, in particular those from El Salvador. Their visit concluded with the placing of a floral tribute, on the "Wall of Prayers" at Bellevue hospital in New York, to the victims of the terrorist attacks.

Mr. Lancry (Israel): We have gathered this week to address a matter of the utmost urgency to the international community. On the morning of 11 September 2001, in the most devastating terror attack in history, a group of terrorists brought two towering symbols of our host city crashing to the ground and wrought havoc on the streets of New York and Washington, D.C. Of course, that was not the first time that civilians had been the direct target of violent attacks. Indeed, the deadly plague of terrorism has posed a grave threat to international peace and security for decades. But the attacks of 11 September have demonstrated, in the most dramatic and catastrophic way imaginable, the devastation terrorism can cause and the extent of its reach, if it is not aggressively confronted wherever it may breed.

The people and the Government of Israel express their most profound condolences and heartfelt sympathy to the people of the United States and to all those whose lives have been affected by these heinous attacks. We join the resounding chorus of voices that have condemned this evil act in the harshest terms. The terrorists who destroyed the World Trade Center and flattened the west side of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., shattered not only glass and steel, but the misconception that terrorism is confined to remote areas of conflict and does not pose a global threat of the highest order.

There are those who worry that terror cannot be eliminated because it is elusive. It is true that those

who are willing to sacrifice themselves to kill others cannot be deterred by ordinary means. But the war on terrorism can be won through the comprehensive, uncompromising and unrelenting determination of the international community. To ensure that this campaign succeeds, we must bring our economic, legal, military and diplomatic might to bear, in a coordinated and long-term international, regional and national effort.

Israel is encouraged by the recent far-reaching measures adopted by the Security Council in resolution 1373 (2001). That resolution, which targets in particular those who finance terrorists and support their actions, represents a crucial step in the war on terrorism. All States must act now to root out the terrorists operating in their territory and the infrastructure that feeds them. International mechanisms of cooperation must continue to be expanded and enhanced to ensure that terrorists and their supporters are held fully accountable for their crimes. This means more than adopting and enforcing international legal mechanisms to combat terrorism. It means, above all, mustering the sustained political will required to eradicate all terrorism comprehensively and without compromise.

These measures must be accompanied by a broad campaign, involving religious leaders, educators and civil society, aimed at rooting out the incitement to hatred and violence that creates a breeding ground where murderous ideologies flourish. Now, more than ever, voices of tolerance and mutual respect must be heard, in particular from political, spiritual and educational leaders in positions of influence. Terrorists must hear from their own societies that they will not be tolerated. They must learn that they cannot hide. They will not find refuge. They will not be allowed to trample upon the common values of humanity.

The principles of international law, and the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which condemn all acts of terrorism, whatever their form or motivation, as criminal and unjustifiable, must serve as a global call to action. Terrorism must be fought without exception, without hesitation and without fear.

While most nations and peoples have lowered their flags in solidarity with America, some have raised their voices in an attempt to justify the unjustifiable and to artificially distinguish between one kind of terror and another. These apologists, by purporting to identify the underlying causes of these attacks, not only justify, in effect, the heinous crimes of 11 September, but lay the moral foundation for future attacks.

The United Nations has heard such statements before. We have heard those who claim that certain types of terrorism are acceptable and that some innocent civilians are legitimate targets.

The United Nations must reaffirm today that there is no justification, and that there can never be any justification, for the calculated murder of innocents. Let us be clear: the indiscriminate murder of innocent civilians to advance political or religious objectives is terrorism, no matter how its apologists seek to label it.

As the Secretary-General declared on Monday, and has emphasized on previous occasions,

> "There can be no acceptance of those who would seek to justify the deliberate taking of innocent civilian life, regardless of cause or grievance. If there is one universal principle that all peoples can agree on, surely it is that." (*A/56/PV.12*)

Fabricating distinctions between different types of terror, though conveniently couched in the language of noble ideals, is an unforgivable insult to the memories of those who have perished. There has never been a terrorist group that did not believe that the ends justify the means. These ends are typically articulated in terms of rights — but rights without any corresponding responsibilities, so-called rights that permit indiscriminate murder with impunity, so-called rights that clearly defy unequivocal legal obligations and historical commitments.

But the thousands of innocents butchered in the name of these ideals tell a different story, and the moral of that story is clear: terrorism is defined by what one does, not by what one does it for. By bestowing any measure of legitimacy on terrorist tactics, those extremists who seek to achieve their goals through violence will be empowered at the expense of leaders willing to resolve disputes through peaceful dialogue. If the international community tolerates any act of terrorism, it renders irrelevant the very methods it has championed for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

The renewed determination of the international community to combat terrorism is welcome. But, at this critical juncture, it is essential that the alliance against terror manage to clearly identify and recognize its foe. Defeating terror means far more than finding and

punishing its immediate perpetrators. Terrorists do not operate in a vacuum, but rather as part of a complex network whose constituent parts nourish and inspire each other, both organizationally and ideologically. The success of a terrorist group in wreaking havoc in one society makes it easier for other groups to sow fear and panic elsewhere.

Terrorist groups do not present a discrete series of threats. They are not distinct entities that can be toppled one by one. On the contrary, terrorism is organic, and the attempt to tackle one branch while expressing sympathy or understanding for another will only undermine our efforts. The terrorist organism, like any organism, cannot survive for long without systems to sustain it. Terrorists rely on an extensive infrastructure that provides the financial means, the suicidal indoctrination and the murderous tools with which to carry out attacks. And this infrastructure can only exist with the assistance and complicity of States.

Certain regimes in the Middle East and elsewhere have granted terrorists safe harbour, supplied them with weapons and training grounds and provided the financial backing for the perpetration of thousands of attacks on innocent civilians. Through their support, both active and tacit, these regimes have declared themselves the allies of terrorism and bear no less responsibility than the terrorists themselves.

If the resources and determination of the international community can be galvanized to eliminate State support for terrorism, a decisive blow will have been struck in this battle. But there can be no neutrality in this effort. Those States that fail to comply with their legal obligations to suppress terrorists operating in their territory are not neutral — they are collaborators and must be regarded as such.

Since Israel's establishment, its citizens have been the targets of countless terrorist attacks. This past year, Israel has been compelled to engage in legitimate self-defence against an indiscriminate and suicidal terrorist campaign that erupted in blatant violation of signed agreements and that has claimed hundreds of innocent lives.

The people of Israel are all too familiar with the attempts of terrorists and their allies to justify the murder of civilians and blame the victims for their crimes. But in the words of the Mayor of New York City, who addressed us at the outset of this debate,

> "The era of moral relativism between those who practice or condone terrorism, and those nations who stand up against it, must end."

History has shown the world that all that is required for evil to triumph is for good people to do nothing. Standing on the sidelines, or cowering before the terrorist threat, in the naive hope that if we do not oppose terrorism we will not draw its fire, cannot be an option. The people of the world look to their countries to prevail over terrorism. It cannot be appeased, and it cannot be assuaged. The only option is to defeat it.

Having said that, I would like to express my deeply held conviction that the three great faiths — Judaism, Christianity and Islam — share the same values and obey the same fundamental commitments. They have emerged from a common spirit that gave humanity its ideals of justice, compassion, love and its promise of a future of goodness. Islam, Christianity and Judaism together constitute the bedrock of this human apogee. They epitomize the monotheistic creed that should flourish alongside other ancient religions and beliefs within a true, comprehensive and inclusive inter-faith dialogue.

Today, more than ever, our common spiritual heritage should inspire and nurture our acts for the betterment of our common being and our common destiny.

Mr. Leslie (Belize): The delegation of Belize aligns itself with the statement to be presented by the representative of Dominica on behalf of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Group.

We are gathered in solidarity with the international community in an effort to formulate a united response to terrorism. At the outset, allow me, on behalf of Prime Minister Said Musa, the Government and people of Belize, to once more extend our deepest expressions of sympathy to the people and Government of the United States of America and, in particular, to the families of those directly impacted by the terrorist attacks we all witnessed on 11 September in our host city, New York, and in Washington, D.C.

The events of that terrible September morning served to highlight the great risks that we face from terrorism. These attacks, while specifically targeted at the citizens of the United States of America, were, in reality, attacks against all freedom-loving people.

Those who engage in acts of terrorism seek to justify their criminal behaviour as championing the plight of the poor and oppressed of our world. We categorically reject such claims and say that justice can never be pursued through indiscriminate violence. It is the position of the Government of Belize that any act of terrorism is an attack against our professed commitment to democratic principles. Let no one claim to be acting on behalf of the marginalized of our societies through such unconscionable actions. As a developing country whose population is working to eradicate poverty and its attendant hardships, we condemn any form of terrorism, for we strongly believe that terrorism can serve no good purpose. Those who attack innocent civilians, who support, finance, engage in and encourage these criminal acts against humanity should find no safe place in which to exist and operate.

Not only are we steadfast in condemning terrorism, we are also committed to work to put an end to it by eliminating those forces that lie at its roots. Belize wants to be a partner in the global effort to combat terrorism and remove it from our world, for it is in our interests to ensure that further acts of terrorism are not allowed to continue to take innocent lives. Attacks such as we have witnessed here in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania do not impact only those at whom they are directly targeted, they impact the entire world, compromising the very confidence and security we work so hard to protect.

The Belize delegation welcomes Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1368 (2001), as well as General Assembly resolution 56/1. We further undertake to use our best efforts to implement these resolutions and to participate in the development of holistic strategies at the multilateral, regional and national levels to combat terrorism.

Belize shares the grief caused by terrorism. We condemn terrorist activities in all its forms and manifestations and assure the international community that we will do all we can to counter this scourge. We will continue to advocate for the rights of all people, but we will do so preserving the democratic principles and human rights we cherish.

Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya): Since I am taking the floor for the first time, allow me to join other delegates who have spoken before me in extending to the President our congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that his wise and able leadership will steer the work of the fifty-sixth session towards its desired goals.

I wish also to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the work of the Organization and to congratulate him on his unanimous re-election to a second term in office. His re-election is an unequivocal manifestation of the confidence bestowed upon him, not only by the Member States of the United Nations, but by the international community in its entirety.

The eleventh of September 2001 will remain a black mark in the history of the world because it is the day the brutal hand of terrorism chose to strike the United States of America in the cities of New York and Washington, D.C. This dastardly attack, although committed in the territory of the United States, was an attack not just on America and its people, but on humanity as a whole. It was, in fact, an attack on all the peace-loving people of the world, who were poised to celebrate or were celebrating International Peace Day.

At the dawn of the events of 11 September, His Excellency President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi of Kenya, on behalf of the people and the Government of Kenya, sent a message to President George W. Bush, the Government and the people of America, expressing our deepest sympathies and condemning in unequivocal terms these cowardly and despicable acts of terror.

Kenya once more condemns, in the strongest possible terms, these brutal acts of terrorism and all forms and manifestations of international terrorism, whatever its motivation. As stated by my Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation this week on 2 October 2001, in a ministerial statement to Kenya's Parliament:

> "It is our profound belief that terrorism can never form the basis for the resolution of conflicts and cannot be justified under any circumstances. We therefore call upon the international community to redouble its efforts in the fight against terrorism."

Terrorism poses a serious threat to international peace and security and is fundamentally in contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations and the established principles of international relations. It

therefore behoves every nation that believes in these principles to abhor and condemn terrorism and to take every step within its power to fight this heinous scourge.

All nations, irrespective of their size, might or influence, and all people, irrespective of their colour, sex, race or religion, are directly or indirectly affected by terrorism. In 1998 my country had a first-hand experience with the grim face of terrorism, when the hand of terror struck the American Embassy in Nairobi, killing not only Americans, but over 200 Kenyans, who were innocently going about their daily business and leaving thousands severely injured and/or impaired for life. The 1998 attack was targeted at three American Embassies in East Africa. The Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam was bombed simultaneously with the Embassy in Nairobi, whereas the attempt on the American Embassy in Kampala was thwarted. As a result of these attacks, the East African community established a joint committee to coordinate our actions against terrorism.

For its part, immediately after the 1998 bombing, Kenya put in place various measures as safeguards against any terrorist attacks in the future. These included the tracking down and arrest of any suspected accomplices to terrorist groups, more vigorous vetting of foreigners and the tightening of security at our airports and other entry points. These measures have been further strengthened after the 11 September attack on United States territory.

We call for a unified, global and unrelenting approach in fighting this scourge, under the auspices of the United Nations. In this regard, my delegation wishes to echo the words of the Secretary-General in calling for a united front, a global coalition under the auspices of the United Nations, in fighting terrorism; for terrorism is now a worldwide problem. My delegation shares the concerns of the international community about the alarming increase in acts of terrorism and fully supports measures at the international level to combat terrorism.

Kenya has signed and ratified or acceded to a number of international conventions on combating terrorism. The International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings has been signed and internal procedures are under way for its ratification. We also support measures taken by the United Nations towards the suppression of international financing of terrorism and, in this regard, will sign the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in the near future.

Kenya commends the Security Council for its adoption of resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001). Those resolutions are comprehensive and add impetus to the global fight against terrorism. We support the measures outlined in the resolutions and call for international cooperation in their implementation. We also call for the strengthening of international cooperation and for the speedy conclusion of the work of the United Nations to establish an effective international legal regime to fight this evil and its perpetrators.

However, many small countries have neither the means nor the ability to respond effectively to this threat. My delegation therefore calls upon the United Nations to explore and coordinate the possibilities existing within its system to assist States in building capacity to combat the menace. As the Secretary-General rightly put it,

> "The United Nations is uniquely positioned to advance this effort. It provides the forum necessary for building a universal coalition and can ensure global legitimacy for the long-term response to terrorism." (*The New York Times, 21 September 2001*)

The time is now ripe for the holding of the proposed high-level conference to formulate a joint and organized international response to terrorism.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my Government's full cooperation and support in the global war against terrorism. It is incumbent upon us to work together to eliminate the threats to international peace and security.

Mr. Ishmael (Guyana): The Guyana delegation associates itself with the statement that will be made by the representative of the Commonwealth of Dominica on behalf of the Caribbean Community.

Guyana vehemently deplores the criminal and monstrously destructive terrorist acts of 11 September, which have had the effect of converting a part of our host city into a veritable war zone with enormous loss of life, a state of affairs replicated to a degree in Washington, D.C., and in Pennsylvania. The loss of life reverberates throughout the community and the world, the victims and their loved ones coming from a multitude of nationalities and ethnicities, many of my

own countrymen and countrywomen perishing with the rest. The loss of life and property has also been injurious to economies everywhere in this age of globalization.

Guyana extends its deepest sympathy to the people and the Government of the United States upon their suffering and loss. We wish the United States Government every success in its efforts to marshal the forces of humanity in a coalition to conquer international terrorism, which affects us all and which violates the ideals that we both profess and support. If it were to go unchallenged, it would have the effect of negating all that we have worked and struggled for in this Organization since its founding in 1945.

Guyana's opposition to terrorism is complete and absolute. In a message delivered on the occasion of an inter-faith service of remembrance held in New York on 30 September 2001 for 24 Guyanese nationals who lost their lives in this disaster, Guyana's President, His Excellency Bharrat Jagdeo, declared that

> "Death is always a painful thing. When it comes to people in their youth or in the prime of their lives, and when it comes so tragically and in such an unexpected fashion, as it did to our Guyanese brothers and sisters on 11 September in that disaster of such mind-boggling dimensions, the wrenching pain is unbearable and the grief unsupportable. Guyana supports the efforts to rein in terror and we pledge our full cooperation to root out terrorism".

Guyana, as a country with a substantial Muslim population and as a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, is anxious for our efforts to eradicate terrorism to succeed. However, it is imperative that we guard against the bigotry that has driven some to blame Muslims and Arabs for the events of 11 September. It has been well and succinctly stated at this podium earlier in the debate, that terrorism has no religion, no nationality and no ethnicity. No religion authorizes or legitimizes terrorism, and any protestations or claims to the contrary are no more than a vain political excuse to justify that which can never be vindicated.

Guyana supports the multifaceted efforts of our Organization to deal with terrorism. An abundance of anti-terrorist conventions is today on offer, and one more is still in negotiation. We currently subscribe to the Organization of American States Declaration of Lima to Prevent, Combat and Eliminate Terrorism with its Plan of Action on Hemispheric Cooperation, approved on 26 April 1996. We also support the resolution adopted by the Organization of American States on 21 September 2001 at the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of States parties, invoking the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Rio Treaty. That resolution established a programme of solidarity and mutual assistance in the American hemisphere to deal with the scourge of terrorism.

These efforts require for their success that we pay heed to the instances of injustice that abound in the contemporary world. Where injustice is manifest, it can become a politically destabilizing force and breed hatred — conditions that might be exploited by the unscrupulous for the furtherance of their own evil ends. The current revolution in communications has now rendered it impossible to conceal injustice from the eyes of its victims.

It was the decolonization process that gave rise to the greatest increase in the membership of our Organization. We must ensure that the freedoms which we sought for ourselves are enjoyed by everyone else — that there is everywhere respect for human rights, for our common humanity; for our right as human beings to pursue our legitimate destiny, whether individually or as a collective, embodied in a state without arbitrary interference or denial; that the autonomy of the human spirit is maximized and its creativity thereby nurtured.

Guyana welcomes Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), which, in our view, represents a significant advance in the efforts of the international community to eradicate terrorism, while simultaneously constituting an innovative interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations. The meaning of the Charter in 2001 is significantly at variance with its meaning in 1945, and this reality is reflective of the changes in the world that have occurred in the intervening period. We are concerned here with the fashioning of a legal structure that will facilitate the attainment of a purpose we all endorse. The validity of all law — and international law is no exception — has a temporal dimension, and change being inherent in all forms of human social organization, it follows inevitably and inexorably that law must be adapted to the exigencies of that change if it is to preserve its relevance and effectiveness.

In a dissent from an advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice and requested by our Assembly concerning the "Competence of the General Assembly for the Admission of a State to the United Nations," the distinguished Chilean Judge Alejandro Alvarez stated that

> "it is necessary, when interpreting treaties — in particular, the Charter of the United Nations — to look ahead, that is, to have regard to the new conditions, and not to look back. A treaty or a text that has once been established acquires a life of its own. Consequently, in interpreting it we must have regard to the exigencies of contemporary life."

The period in which we live is different from 1945, and the framers of the Charter contemplated threats to the maintenance of international peace and security that are often radically at variance with the kinds of threats with which we are confronted today. International terrorism, in all its ramifications, does constitute a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is therefore appropriate that the decision-making machinery that is vested in Chapter VII of the Charter is enlisted with a view to eradicating this malady. Guyana will fulfil the obligations that have been laid upon us all by Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

As I close, I reiterate Guyana's unswerving support for all the efforts we have crafted for the purpose of defeating terrorism. These efforts are hugely multilateral and derive an enhanced legitimacy from that sobering reality. We shall prevail. Our survival, with the full complement of rights to which we all aspire, requires that we do.

Mr. Botnaru (Republic of Moldova): The terrorist acts perpetrated in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania on 11 September are an assault not only on the United States but also on all of humankind.

My delegation strongly condemns these criminal acts, which brought terror and resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent people from the United States and from many other nations. As the President of the Republic of Moldova stated immediately after those tragic events,

> "We oppose and condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We are fully committed to international efforts to ensure that those responsible for these inhumane acts, whoever they might be, are brought to justice and punished."

The immediate response by the General Assembly and the Security Council on 12 September, as well as the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), illustrates the increased importance of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism. The establishment of a committee to monitor the implementation of this resolution should significantly enhance its practical impact on the way in which States coordinate their efforts to combat terrorism.

The Republic of Moldova fully associates itself with all aspects of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001), which reaffirm the determination of the international community to combat by all means threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

Moldova actively supported the adoption of the 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, which underscores that terrorist acts are

> "in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them". *(A/49/60, annex, part I, para. 3).*

In this spirit, we support the multilateral efforts aimed at strengthening the United Nations anti-terrorist legal framework, including the early conclusion of a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism as well as a comprehensive international convention on international terrorism. In particular, we believe that with the adoption of the comprehensive convention, some sensitive and complex issues will be resolved and, consequently, the existing gaps in the legal regime of anti-terrorist cooperation will be filled. It is only through developing and implementing a network of anti-terrorist instruments that the international community can effectively ensure that terrorists find no safe haven from which they can continue their criminal activities.

The President returned to the Chair.

The Republic of Moldova is a State party to six of the 12 terrorism-related United Nations treaties and

protocols. Measures are under way to enable our country to accede to other remaining conventions, including the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. My Government is seriously considering signing those two conventions by the end of this year. Early this week, our Parliament adopted, on the first reading, a bill on terrorism, which is a further indication of our ongoing commitment to implementing the United Nations conventions on terrorism.

The Republic of Moldova will also actively cooperate in combating any terrorist activities through concerted efforts with other countries in the framework of various regional organizations, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The events of 11 September have shown that the international community must seek with renewed determination to resolve the long-standing international problems on which terrorism feeds. From this perspective, we must urgently address many conflicts around the world, their roots and, implicitly, all those factors which could nurture the development of terrorism.

The Security Council emphasizes, in paragraph 4 of resolution 1373 (2001), the connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs and other illegal activities. In this context, I feel obliged to add my voice to that of those who see the phenomenon of separatism also as a root cause of conflict, as well as a threat to international peace and security. Besides being anachronistic in a globalized and interdependent world, separatism affects the very basis of multicultural and multi-ethnic societies and poses a grave danger to the sovereignty and integrity of many States. As a country affected by separatism, we are alarmed at the persistence of this scourge and the connections it may sometimes have with other serious criminal activities. That is why, in our opinion, this issue, among others, must be taken into account by the United Nations Member States in their efforts to elaborate and implement a comprehensive and efficient anti-terrorist strategy.

I should like to conclude by reasserting our unreserved condemnation of all forms of terrorism and our firm commitment to standing with the international community in this struggle at every step of this long way.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.